1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

526 tried to impale it, thereby scoring 1. The winning score was 7, counted with sticks. In the second form, the hoop was held in the hand, the outstretched fingers in the center. "The opponent endeavors to catch between his fingers the small dart thrown by his opponent." In a variant, an actual arrow was thrown, the opponent being often hurt in the hand.

Shinny goals were 200 feet apart, and the ball was a buckskin strap contested for with 4-foot rods ("tsekai'yak"), evidently connected with the name of the game itself (tsikayaka, Hudson).[2] According to my informants, the players sided by patrilineal groups but did not paint themselves. The ball (pɛts'i'lsi) was a rope made from buckskin or from the inner bark of sagebrush, 2 feet long and 1½ inches thick, and was thrown with a forward movement, players picking up the ball and throwing it into the air. They knocked one another down, fell on one another, and tripped up opponents with their sticks. Goals were marked with brush. According to Bill, there were 8 women
[525] on each side; Mrs. Hardy had seen only 4 when watching a game. The game was played all day in the spring. Wagers included baskets of various kinds, and buckskins.

524 In the hand game, too, the division into patrilineal groups held, according to one informant (cf. p. 304). There were generally 6 men and 5 counters on each side. Sometimes only women played the game (Dave). The hand with the plain bone (tetyɛ'ɛmi) was guessed, the bound bone (tatai'da) being handled only for confusing the opponents. Two in the group handled bones and sang, assistants slapping sticks; guessers viewed them, and one of them waved his hand to indicate the position of the plain bone. If he succeeded, he took the bones; if he guessed both opponents' hands, he got counters as well—2 counters if both plain bones were guessed; for 1 bone guessed, 1 counter. If
[525] both were missed, the guessers forfeited 2 counters. The transfer of bones to another player is called gebɛhu'cul.[3]

● [817] According to my informants, old men, 6 to 8 on each side, played at tso'tsoyi, pa'la.a"ci being pitted against the ta'ɣlɛld and each betting heavily. Four sticks, one pair longer than the other, were covered with a basket, the concealer singing a song. The guessers were to indicate that the two big ones were in the middle, the guesser putting out his right index finger, with the palm of his hand down. As soon as the guessers caught all the sticks, they scored a point. It was then their turn to hide them. Ten points won the game. This evidently corresponds to Hudson's "dtsudtsu" or "tsutsu," in which an inverted winnowing basket was held with the left hand while nine small sticks, 2½ inches long, were held in the right and a number of them hidden.[4] The opponent had to guess whether the number was odd or even. Hudson mentions this pastime under the head of both "stick" and "hidden ball" games. In the latter category he calls it "it-dtsu-dtsu" and describes it as follows: A set consists of 2 "female" sticks, 10 inches long and bound with buckskin to prevent noise

[2] *Ibid.*, 664.
[3] *Ibid.*, 222 f. The account given above is mainly derived from this source.
[4] *Ibid.*, 265, 335.

342 blanket or a skin. An entrance passageway about four feet long was usually attached to the house.

Stewart (1941) reported the presence of a gabled house 10 feet high, 12 feet wide, and 15 feet long with two upright poles, a ridgepole, and a covering of some combination of brush, bark, twined bark mat, pine sod, and earth. The doorway of this was flush with the side wall. It also had a [354] fireplace inside with a pit and a smoke hole in the roof. Stewart also mentions a tripod foundation house and a cone-shaped house (with a basketry door and encircled with stones). None of my informants mentioned a house with a ridge pole, although they were familiar with the elliptical bark slab house described by Barrett (1917, 10-11).

The main house frame was made by interlocking the upper limbs or forks of three or four poles about 18 feet long so that they intersected at about 12 to 15 feet. The slope of the poles was such that the triangle formed by two poles at the point of their intersection and the ground would be roughly an equilateral triangle. With equal sides (and equal angles), the diameter of the house floor was the same as the length of the poles from where they touch the ground to where they intersect. This gave a very stable frame for the house. The poles were buried in the ground and tied at the top with willows.

A number of long willow or pine poles were leaned around on this frame. Geographical location determined the materials used in the final covering. The frame poles may have been carried for a long distance, the covering was always of local materials such as cedar bark, bundles of tules or grass, or cedar [824] boughs. The first layer was tied on to the circle of poles with green willows manzanita, cattails, or strips of deer hide. The covering was placed first around the bottom and then higher. A shingle or thatched effect was attached to shed the rain. A hole about a foot square was left open at the top for the smoke to leave. The second layer of covering was the same as the first or was some combination of pinesod, branches, and brush.

When the outside was complete, they cleaned up the inside, shoved the protruding limbs back or broke them off, and made a shallow fireplace [354] (diyu itgums¢w¢), possibly with a ring of rocks. A ladder (bakmanga) of [417] a tree with big limbs to climb on was leaned against the house to build a windbreak for the smoke hole (dauyatsim buutsui).

372 The fire (di?yu) was made by rotating a wooden rod in the hands while pressing down on another piece of wood. Soft bark was used for tinder. Once a fire was started it was kept going with a firestick (ulu ushi). The ashes (tsapo) were carried out in a basket. Firewood was piled up outside [313] with a few sticks brought in to maintain the fire during the night. The job of [887] gathering firewood (maak b¢h¢sing) and especially maintaining the fire usually fell to the old people. In good weather a fire was kept and cooking was sometimes done outside.

Pinenut pickinggrounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

1756 The word also denotes the implements used in curing.
[192] A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites
755 were the same each night. For the first three nights,
756 the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some
756 other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains
178 alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism
668 will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture
756 of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them.
[178] The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

361 Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303).
622 Each settlement was politically independent. Washo
[114] informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the
624 Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special
[224] headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit
[787] hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is
178 more complex. They have adopted a written constitu-
623 tion and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new com-
642 plexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters,
[578] the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective
[887] council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

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211 Warfare seems to have been waged under the leader-
622 ship of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his
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object was to kick the ball from man to man down the line and through the goal. The first team to kick its ball through the goal won the game. Stewart (1941, 395-6) says the Washo did not have the ball race.

The foot races of both the men and women began with a challenge. One moiety challenged the other by individual members running to the center of the camp circle, depositing bets which were tied onto sticks, and retiring. People then dashed from the other moiety, which was camped on the other side of the camp circle, and called the bets in the same way. All of the betting was man to man. The identities of the runners were kept secret until the race began because shamans might have attempted some sorcery against a contestant. The race was to a halfway point and return and usually took several hours. Runners adorned themselves for the race: Indians of the East moiety painted white marks on their bodies and wore an eagle feather; those of the West moiety painted red marks (Freed, 1960, 361). The winner of the race was bathed by a female relative, and the basket was thrown into the crowd just as at the girl's puberty dance. Also, anyone from the losing side could come and take the clothes the winner had been wearing.

Archery contests began with a challenge. The targets were two round sticks about 4 ft. high set at opposite ends of the course. Four men competed, two on a side. At each end of the course stood a member of each team. These two men shot three arrows apiece at the opposite goal. A hit scored four points; an arrow placed nearer the goal than any of the opponents' arrows counted one point. Eight or 10 points won the game.

The hand game was played by men and women. The game was played with four bones, two of which had black wrappings around them, and 10 tally sticks. The tally sticks were divided five to a side. Two men from one side hid a bone in each of their hands. A person from the other side who had the reputation of being a good gambler tried to guess the location of the bones marked with the black wrappings. The side hiding the bones scored a point if the man guessed incorrectly. Only the team in possession of the bones could score points. The game ended when one side had captured all of the tally sticks. The side with the bones sang, and the men hiding the bones sometimes played tricks such as putting both bones in the same hand to confuse and rattle the guesser.

A similar game was played by old men. They used four long sticks, two of which were wrapped as in the hand game. The sticks were hidden behind a winnowing basket, and eight tally sticks were used. The mechanics of guessing and scoring were the same as in the hand game. Stewart (1941) says the Washo did not have the hand game, but notes the presence of the game played with the winnowing basket.

N 436 177 489 W [439] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. Ki: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obtained in mountains near Topaz.

W [135] 1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 178] 1906. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tötsikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1926a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'iBa^{mp}.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

N 534

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

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N [772 756] 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake.

N [178 756] K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

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involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

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The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

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Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

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Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

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There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

[P.352,A]

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In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

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CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

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A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

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Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

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The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

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The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

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undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

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Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegelóyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
757 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
757 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[758] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegelóyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose generalized power (not wegelóyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers
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888 were active workers of malevolence; witches were hapless victims of a condition arising naturally from their age. However, this situation was obscured by the fact that older people were thought to be likely candidates for acquiring wegelóyu. Older people, therefore, were open to charges of sorcery; although innocent, an old person might be on the defensive knowing that he could inadvertently bewitch someone, especially a child or a young person. The belief that older people are more likely to acquire wegelóyu than younger ones is not supported by the testimony of our informants regarding the ages at which known shamans acquired power. Hank Pete's mother acquired her power before marriage, probably before the age of 15; Rupert acquired his as a young man.

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775 Social control among relatives was based on a fear of ghosts rather than sorcery. Relatives who could not be influenced in any other way could be reached by an attempted suicide. The reason is clear: the dead person could become a ghost; hence he would be in a position to threaten the life of his living relatives. The usual method for an attempted suicide was to eat wild parsnip. The poison acts slowly and gives plenty of time to save the victim. The Washo force an emetic down the person's throat and he vomits up the poison.

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[837] The four examples of attempted suicide recounted by our informants were definite attempts at resolving family problems. In one case, a man had been having difficulty with his wife; she was interested in another man. The husband ate wild parsnip, but was saved. As a result his sons brought pressure on the wife and made her behave. The couple stayed together until the husband died. A second case involved trouble between a brother and sister.
[593] The sister had been taking money from the parents, and the brother objected. The girl threatened suicide and the boy said, "Go ahead -- I don't care." The girl took wild parsnip, but not enough to kill her, and she was saved. The parents were very happy to have her revived. After this episode, the son left
[461] home. In the third case a man never wanted to work, and his mother and sister didn't like it. He attempted suicide by hanging, but the rope was too long and his feet touched the floor. A relative cut him down. The suicide attempt frightened his mother and sister and they stopped complaining. The fourth case concerned a woman. Our informant didn't know the reason for her attempt to kill herself, but commented, "It's always family trouble."

762 Our informants described four cases of successful suicide. Of these, three had no connection with social control. One was that of a helpless old man who lived alone and had no relatives. On a return trip from California where the Washo had been gathering acorns, he asked to be abandoned. Another successful suicide was a woman who had lost a daughter whom she loved very much. She ate wild parsnip and died in three hours. The third case, which is probably apocryphal, concerns a shaman who tried unsuccessfully to

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768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. [537] First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn [178] down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or [783] buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifications the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

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888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural
754 power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently be-
[778] witch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

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775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

224
778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

One use in

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 575

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu'wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [575] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919. 177 585

Death

Death (dey'liyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

224
[125] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt [888] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

233
825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

231
241 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors
311 that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agricul-
177 ture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild